/150 cont./

[81] behavior, and this is best expressed in their high degree of contentment. Our natives are uncomplainingly satisfied with all the misfortune they must endure because of the weather, with the sharp restrictions resulting from the scarcity of products of the soil, and with the constant hampering of free movement as a result of the overwhelming forces of nature. One would scarcely believe it possible for a people to be resigned to such few pleasures and such scant comfort. One never hears them complain or grumble about the hard living conditions that have been imposed upon them, and they bear with inviolable composure the lot that has befallen them.

[83] Nevertheless, they have not let themselves become a weak plaything of natural forces. In the rigor of battle they have steeled themselves in resistance, and their certainty of triumph gives them that independence and self-reliance that is content even in the most miserable situations. In their struggle with nature for subsistence our Fuegians develop well-trained mental powers and an unsurpassed skill. Even Bridges (b):260 in concise terms credits them with great merit: "They have various methods of hunting and killing birds, and in all they show much skill" /translated from Spanish/. The observations and experience of many generations have alone perfected the efficient methods of trapping and hunting with which every Indian is sure of success without having to waste effort. He practiced them from the days of his youth until he became skillful and steadfast. Many of the manipulations and movements, carried out with adroitness and some effort, seem simple and easy to the eye of a European (307):

[84]

> 307. Bove (e):157 adds to this, saying: "Only someone who has lived among them can have any idea of the effort and cunning which they are obliged to muster in order to obtain the most frugal livelihood for themselves."

the keen hunter and unerring marksman excite admiration. If a European would try his hand at this he would become vividly aware of how stiff and awkward he is at doing the things the Indian does every day.

1: Gemünde--ETH E-6 (1910-1914) 1937 DOM Yahgan DOM

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Hyades (b):12. This answer does not need an explanation.

Everyone knows that in an accident some man or other could perhaps have been saved by swimming, as many women succeeded in doing. Nevertheless, he does not make any effort to learn this art.

The manner in which the women move in the water resembles our so-called paddle-stroke, or, as Martial:193, agreeing with Fitz-Roy (a):196, expresses himself, "is more like that of the dog than ours" /translated from French/. The mother teaches her daughter when she is still young. In a shallow inlet she rows her away from the shore, squats in the middle of the canoe, extends her outstretched arms over the upper edge and requests /618/ the girl to lie down on top of them, face downward; suddenly she draws her arms back and calls briefly: "Now swim!" The girl must now help herself until she has learned this art. Except for a few words of explanation, she receives no instruction. Sometimes during these exercises the mother places a flat stone on the girl's back.

In their frail vessel the natives feel completely safe. And why not! Their accurate judgment of the weather situation makes it possible for them to know what they may risk, and they show great skill in handling their canoe. Formerly it was very seldom indeed that a boat capsized (430). If in most recent times such

430. In this connection Spears:55 says: "Both the Rev. Thomas Bridges and the Rev. John Lawrence told me that they never heard of a Yahgan being upset in his canoe until these later years" /cited in English/.

accidents have happened repeatedly -- I myself was once a witness to one -- it can be proved that the man or the woman, usually both, were intoxicated and yet ventured upon the water, even at night.

The European is seized with a strange feeling when he rides in the canoe because it is extraordinarily light and unsteady and stands high in the water. The slightest movement of an occupant

/734 cont./

145 is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly
856 pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any ef-
868 fort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger
145 brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention.
857 After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /735/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

856 The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which
171 visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they resort to a magical custom known as mūąsa, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

/749 cont./

864 your wife later and you will have no children. This [the real reason for your not having children] will soon be generally known and you will be disgraced forever!"

Thus, fear and intimidation are important training measures which the Fuegians also use in order to keep their children within bounds at the time of /750/ turbulent sexual desire. When they are grown up and enlightened, they themselves make fun of their naïve guilelessness and their gullible trustfulness. For example, the young men will say among themselves: "When I was small they tried to frighten me and said to me: 'If you have anything to do with a woman she will cut off your penis!' Now I know that they only wanted to scare me off!" With their own children they, in turn, will use this same warning which old Alfredo revealed to me.

868 Precepts and admonitions are one aspect of education; the other consists of definite exercises and specific instruction in skill and manual dexterity. The boys are treated differently from the girls, in accordance with the division of labor prevailing in every family. This training is supposed to prepare them for the duties and particular sphere of work that await everyone. Until the child is three years old, it is entirely under its mother's care. From then on the father gradually draws his little son entirely to himself, plays with him, gives him errands, often calls on him to help, no matter how little, so that the child does not leave his side. Thus the boy learns about all his tools and types of work, observes him in all his activities and skills, and finally will have to test this and try out that. If he succeeds in his manipulations, he is praised; if he is still too awkward, he must repeat them and go on practicing until he feels secure. The demands that the father makes on his son increase step by step, and he is not really finished learning until he has reached marriageable age when he develops his full physical strength. An uncle will also keep after his nephew with much patience and tenacity, so that the boy will acquire enough dexterity and skill in the manipulation of weapons and tools, as well as in hunting, to be completely independent in obtaining food (186).

186. Despite some shortcomings in the following description, Bridges affirms that children

/750 cont./

868 are given definite instruction by parents and adults: "Parents universally take no pains in the education of their children, and give them no instruction in the arts of native life, save it may be a little instruction in swimming and basket-making by mothers to their daughters; yet I believe that even for this they are generally as much indebted to others as to their mothers. The children learn to speak, to use the spear, sling and arrow, to make these and other implements and vessels as best they can" /cited in English/ (MM: IX, 214:1875).

861 857 The girls are given all kinds of chores by their mother. They must tend their smaller brothers and sisters, roast meat for them, keep the fire going and bring wood, put the roofing of the hut in order and see that the smoke draws off quickly, prepare pieces of leather and sew them together, and take part in gathering mussels and in servicing the canoe. This more or less amounts to a full day's work for a woman. The girl is brought up to do these things almost playfully and becomes so familiar with all of them that after a certain age she can in part replace her mother.

868 /751/ Any one of the girls or boys who acts clumsily and awkwardly, who out of stubbornness or resistance will not be pressed into service, is disciplined by his elders with steadfast patience, but also with tireless tenacity, until he has attained an adequate degree of proficiency and skill. Again and again the little sluggard is taken to task by his own parents and by other people and all the adults help to prepare every child to be independent in his later life. The small services that a child is obliged to perform for his parents form the practical part of his education, with which the actual instruction is interwoven (187).

187. Bridges (i):22 pointed to this very briefly: "The children's help was required in all the duties of native life" /cited in English/. Hyades (g):38 and (f):567 mentions

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868 that "girls and boys are required to take part in the work at an early age."

Y. Results of the Training

183 861 Nelly once confessed to me: "Adults worked on a child long enough and forcefully enough to convince themselves that he would become a good and industrious human being!" It can be said without exaggeration that, throughout, the Yamana have fulfilled their general duties and this must be regarded as a favorable result of their training. Although many vicious outside influences have very much undermined the strictness of the old customs, nevertheless, even up to the present time, almost everyone is more or less punctilious about the things he regards as just and good and proper. They are especially concerned that their children should be favorably influenced and well brought up. Although today some mature women tend to be somewhat slovenly, yet the group as a whole puts restrictions on youth now as before in order to make it impossible for them to transgress seriously. The fact that, despite grave hindrances, the youth initiation has not been entirely given up proves better than words how much the seriousness of child-rearing in former times is still preserved to this day.

861 881 If one surveys the individual child-rearing principles that are obviously emphasized in the Yámana, he is amazed at their extraordinary soundness. They have been tested during centuries of application and have proved themselves successful for many generations. The parents act as natural educators, and the group as a whole supports them. Love for the child and steadfast patience are virtues which will probably never be lacking among the Fuegians in training their children. Education will always be individual and will aim for the perfection of soul and character in the child, as well as the development of manual skill. Among those much despised Fuegians one would scarcely suspect as much educative wisdom as is revealed in their admonitions, which, moreover, are couched in such brief and concise statements!

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857 In true boy-fashion they inquisitively stick their noses into everything; every unusual phenomenon arouses their attention. They swarm from one spot to another and never tire of testing themselves in all kinds of feats of strength. They like best to go away from /761/ the huts, to be safe from any interruption by calls and threats of elders. Then they hunt for birds' nests and tease the fledglings, to the chagrin of the pair of feathered parents. They knock over rotted tree trunks and shout with glee if they expose and scatter a whole swarm of capricorn beetles or fat larvae. If particularly good Cyttaria fungi should entice them, they will also climb trees, otherwise not. At low tide they tumble about on the wet beach and stamp their feet down hard in puddles so that the water squirts up high on both sides. They try to catch with their hands the little fish left in shallow puddles and with short sticks dig in the sand for the razor-shell clams (Solen) when the latter squirt out a few drops of water. Tirelessly they scour the coasts and rocks; every where something rivets their attention and they come across novelties that provide fun for them.

I often roved about in the company of these lively youngsters. With their extraordinarily keen eyes they discovered all kinds of insignificant things and devoted themselves to them with bustling liveliness. I realized how thoroughly these children learn from their earliest youth to train their senses, especially their eyes, and to use them well.

857 147 Furthermore, it is surprising to note that these boys are never squeamish and whining, but courageous and reckless. Stark naked they trample about in the snow or in cold sea water, roll around on gravelly soil, run barefoot over rough stones on the beach, and march through thickets of thorny bushes. Afterwards they examine their many scratches and rub spittle on larger wounds, but they pay no attention to their aches and pains. When they wrestle, they hit hard and audaciously, scratch each other mercilessly, and fight until the opponent is exhausted to the point of offering no further resistance. I never saw a weaker one avoid a stronger one; sometimes a weakling even attacked a strong one and defended himself bravely.

524 R8 There are no special playthings for boys. An adult, usually the father, gives them imitations of the weapons and tools that the

/761 cont./

men use on their hunts. In order to be able to handle them well, the children are taught from early childhood and must constantly practice. These articles are, of course, easily damaged or they are lost, but the adults never tire of making replacements, and the more the boy grows, the larger his implements become. One most often sees the Fuegian boy hurling the sling. It seems to be a part of him, and, following the example of the men, he wears it like a necklace around his throat where it is always and immediately handy. He likes best to aim at birds, but teasingly he will also send a stone to the ground close beside some other child. In childish innocence he will hurl /762/ stones in all directions and is sometimes so naïve about it that he must be chased away again and again from the vicinity of the huts.

Practice with short spears which adults demand of the boys seems to be less convenient and also more difficult. One of the men will call them to follow him. The target will be an old basket or, more often, the root, tanuwúlux, of the large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera), hámus. The boys are lined up not far from the target and must demonstrate their aim. They are praised or scolded according to their accomplishments. No less frequent are the archery contests with bow and arrow. It is part of the father's duty in training his sons to acquaint them early with the use of weapons. It is a vital necessity that they know how to handle them, and therefore this kind of practice is demanded of them when they are still boys (195), repeated in the youth initiation,

> 195. As Bridges (a):183 has reliably observed: "little boys early become skilful in throwing spears and stones, slinging, and making spears, etc." /cited in English/.

and continued even after that. The Yamana do not give their children a finished weapon with the bone point, which is too valuable. Straight poles pointed at one end or useless harpoon shafts serve just as well. They entrust larger boys with snares and praise their success.

Such imitations of weapons can hardly be regarded as playthings. The Fuegians do not primarily intend them to be, but

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857 868 regard them as a means of helping boys to prepare properly for their later duties in connection with food-getting (196).

196. Bridges (i):2. and (h):208 also emphasizes this purpose: "They early, for pastime, prepared themselves for their future life; spending their time, if boys, in practising throwing or slinging stones, in spearing or shooting arrows at a mark, or in attempting to make the various articles of native property" /cited in English/.

541 857 There is a kind of very modest fireworks, šélakina (šéla, simple, plain," kína, "flame up, burn": "little fire, play of sparks"), which is not so much play as simply entertainment. Not only the boys who put it on, but all the occupants of the camp enjoy it. They take the very soft, light interior wood of a beech trunk that has been altered by fungus formations and use it in small pieces about as long as a finger. It begins to glow surprisingly quickly, and when it is hurled into the air it glows even stronger. Each little piece of wood describes an arc as it ascends and falls to the ground. If it has not been entirely burned up, they pick it up and throw it again. Several boys together repeatedly do the throwing, and they must be very nimble. It is a delight to see the little, glowing pieces rise and fall in large numbers, like bright points in the dark night. It is only when several families are together and in a happy mood, that is, for a wedding, for the túxikipa /763/ tátu, for the conclusion of the círaxaus, or beside a stranded whale, that a larger group will sometimes on a quiet night enjoy themselves for some time with this šélakina (197).

197. Without doubt Despard was referring to this on July 29, 1859: "When confined to the 'ucer' [hut] by bad weather, they amuse themselves by throwing burning sticks at each other" /cited in English/ (VP:VII, 10;1860).

857 Another way of amusing themselves seems strange at first, but is explained by the fact that boys are not permitted to wear real

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857 masks of bark, ajyúlu hílix, as they are used at the kína festival. As a substitute, they disfigure and distort their faces. They stretch open their eyelids by pressing a small bent stick against the upper and lower edge of the bony eye-sockets. Furthermore, they put one end of another pair of little sticks against the inside of the nostrils and the other end against the inner wall of the lower lip. Finally, they also paint their faces with all kinds of patterns in white, black, and red. Disfigured in this fashion, they swarm all over the camp and creep up on an unsuspecting child to terrify it.

We see that lively boys do not lack all kinds of fun and a variety of entertainment while their parents are camping in one spot and when favorable weather permits them to roam about freely. They are outside a great deal even in heavy rain and thick snow; they like to stretch their legs in vigorous exercise.

β. Girls' Play

857 157 Whether or not one judges by European standards, he must admit that, in contrast to the always lively boys, Fuegian girls display an extraordinarily quiet manner. Among adults, too, the woman, in contrast to the man, keeps herself very modestly and submissively in the background. Hence girls are probably born with their unobtrusive nature, having inherited it from their mothers. In reality they are reserved and almost timid; they seldom shout loudly, and only occasionally, when they are far away from the huts, do they engage in noisy fun. They are by no means lacking in liveliness, but it does not show unless they are among themselves and not being watched by adults. They can even be audacious and decide on mad pranks that would be appropriate for vigorous boys. They are by far more courageous and unafraid than European girls of the same age.

857 868 Circumstances are such that girls far more than boys have to perform small services in the family. When the mother leaves the hut for a while, perhaps to go fishing or to gather wood, they must often tend their brothers and sisters who are no longer babies. This does /764/ not rob them of their freedom, but merely puts a

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857 867 little restraint on them. They are not too serious about taking care of their brothers or sisters in any case. They do, however, like to hoist a younger brother or sister on their backs and drag him around everywhere for hours. they evidently do not find it taxing or tiring. Moreover, they must perform all kinds of work for the mother in the hut, such as tending the fire, fetching kindling, arranging the sleeping places, helping to clean and stretch skins, taking all kinds of implements from the canoe to the hut, and helping to load the canoe. Naturally they also often accompany women who are going out to hunt for berries, pick fungi, and gather mussels. From their own observations, implemented by some instruction, they become acquainted with all the kinds of manual work that the women must do, namely, dressing skins, weaving baskets, making little ornamental strings, catching fish, and servicing the canoe (198).

198. Bridges (a):183 also conceded: "Girls are early taught to make baskets, plait fishlines and 'asina' (an ornamental fine plait of sinew worn on the neck), to paddle, and to do other work" /cited in English/. Elsewhere Bridges (i):22 and (b):208 repeats that girls amuse themselves "in threading berries as necklaces, paddling in the canoes, making reed baskets, or in attempts at painting faces, etc." /cited in Engli[illegible]

Actual practice, such as is required of boys, is not spared the girls altogether, inasmuch as they must demonstrate to their mother or a woman neighbor their ability to do this or that work until they have acquired a certain dexterity.

857 [301] When the girl is alone or with only a few sisters, she likes to make all kinds of ornaments. When she has reached a certain age, she makes herself a few necklaces and anklets as a matter of course. It gives her great pleasure to wind and braid the tendons or string on them the smallest pieces of bone and berries. If several girls are together, they paint their faces with all kinds of patterns and try to outdo each other in the careful execution of this ornamentation.

/765 cont./

and the brown robber gull, wilayíla (Megalestris skua chilensis); cormorants and penguins, which are too dirty, are less desirable. After the girls have become fond of such a bird in the course of a few weeks, they do not have the heart to kill it even if it would make a succulent roast. If one day it flies off, they follow it enthusiastically with their eyes and send good wishes after it.

As is well known, the bark canoe belongs entirely to the woman (p. 138). For very obvious reasons the father makes a small model of it for his daughter. It is like a larger canoe in every detail and is large enough for a single girl to sit in and row about. On my second journey I noticed a seven-year-old girl in Puerto Bobalo who was extraordinarily skillful in managing her vessel which was 145 centimeters long. Her father had previously given her a smaller canoe. It was a charming sight when one sunny day toward noon the mother set out in her boat and was accompanied by the daughter. Each of them steered her boat into a tangle of large brown algae /766/ and they began to fish. After three hours they returned to the landing place and the girl, too, had a few pieces of booty, to the delight of her father. More often a father will give his daughter a small paddle with which she strikes the water while standing on the shore.

If one sums up what a solitary girl has in the way of entertainment and play, diversion, and minor manipulations, it is clear that she is not condemned to boredom and that, on the contrary, many a day will be too short for her if she has become absorbed in her play. If several children are together in the same place, they choose other forms of entertainment.

7. Social Games

The designation "social games" does not precisely fit all the forms of diversion which are listed here; all I wish to express is that several children come together in them. Adults often take part in these games, but children are always in the majority.

By way of introduction it should be said that a tame, patient dog is used by boys, as well as girls, for all kinds of jests and mad pranks. It sometimes seemed impossible to me that such an animal would take so much from foolhardy boys! They tug him around

X 881 /900 cont./
same time the uš'ala are introduced to this treasure. It cannot
869 be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as
773 good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an exam-
538 ple from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the čiéxaus, to train the young people.

y. Work Drills

X 881 A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, princi-
867 ples and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the uš'ala an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the čiéxaus hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the uš'ala conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the čiéxaus!"

X 881 The young people entering there as candidates are at the
● 868 age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage. Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the čiéxaus we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each uš'ala. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

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boys and girls are enlisted and forced to take part in all kinds of manual work.

1. Exercises for Boys. Among the Yamana the man's sphere of duty is definitely defined. Since each individual and his family /901/ are completely on their own, they must be capable of supporting themselves. Hence, our Fuegians reason, everyone must have a certain degree of manual skill. They mean by this the considerable dexterity and assurance required to stalk and obtain game animals. In particular it is a matter of surprising stealth, getting close to cormorants in their rock cavities, and aiming for the best possible marksmanship in the use of their weapons.

This necessarily also includes an effort to increase fearlessness and courage in the young chaps, for both these qualities are sometimes strained to the utmost in a battle with large sea mammals. Our Yamana have learned through reliable experience that a critically high degree of dependence and timidity, cowardice, and fear persists in many chaps as long as they remain in the parental hut. The čiéxaus should and wants to do away with all this. In each person it usually inculcates enough awareness of self so that he can stand on his own feet, confident of his personal power, as soon as he is dismissed from this training. The remarkably severe pressure on the uíwáala for self-control which is engendered by the strict daily procedure (p. 753) is sensitively and consciously tied in with this goal. The person who has himself completely and firmly under control is master of the arsenal of all his powers.

Making the boys more capable is a specific and necessary aim of the training period. They actually do receive useful instruction which is supervised by the ulaítékuwa, or the overseer. There are no definite rules about which men are to be appointed to this task. It is customary for an uncle or an older cousin to devote himself to the uíwáala during the entire čiéxaus period in case the sponsor is unable to do so because of advanced age or physical infirmity. Ordinarily the sponsor himself performs this service. He is free to decide how often and at what times he arranges exercises for his protégé. He also decides whether one or another skill must be further developed. Sometimes these men get together and exchange views about individual candidates, at

/901 cont./

the same time agreeing on common undertakings. In these discussions the leader finds out what is being done in the practical training of the ufwfala and gives his opinion on it. Despite extensive freedom in this area, there is no lack of supervision and control; the young chaps are sufficiently drilled and made proficient all around, and no one is neglected or slighted.

One can quickly and easily describe how this practice is actually carried out. Formerly, when the youth initiation lasted for months, at least two weeks were allowed to elapse during which time the ufwfala became accustomed to the program in the hut. After that period and after the overseer has been notified, on any day or at any time of the day or night, the sponsor summons his protégé, and the two set out /902/ for the beach or a rock where the exercises begin. Whether several men have taken the ufwfala or only a single one is alone with a boy, the latter must throw the harpoon hurl his sling or shoot his arrow in the presence of his teacher, depending on what has been planned. The teacher provides the weapons and knows how to handle them well. An old basket or a root of the large brown algae serves as a target. Naturally, a place is chosen where women or children would scarcely ever come, and teacher and pupil remain here for several hours. The men compare the achievements of the boys and discuss the progress of the individual. Practice with one weapon or another is repeated until the ufwfala has learned to handle it skillfully. As a rule the men are more exacting in their judgment than need be.

Only after the candidate has learned to use the weapon properly and easily does the sponsor begin to familiarize him with the methods of hunting. Each animal has its peculiarities which the hunter must take into account. The Yamana know this from long experience and they pass this knowledge on for the benefit of the younger generation. Accordingly, in hunting and trapping they not only adopt the most advantageous and the safest method, but this method remains the same throughout the centuries because, under the given circumstances, it cannot be improved (p. 210).

It is difficult for the young chaps to kill the very adroit sea lion in the water, whereas it is easier to overpower it on land.

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It is fascinating for them to climb around on rock walls where they plunder the nests of cormorants. In any case, however, it takes long practice and trained dexterity before each one has acquired adequate proficiency in this or that method of hunting. The older men exercise a great deal of patience with the ahwahlo, and again the candidates must try first one way and then another. They are stimulated and encouraged; some of them are helped with much extra care. Time finally brings progress and ultimate success. I was sufficiently convinced about these details during my first initiation. In view of all this, it no longer seems strange that many a Tohgan celebration lasted for months.

The attempts to rid a cowardly lad of timidity and fear are more serious. He is accompanied into the dense forest at night or taken to a lonely island where he is left by himself and obliged to hold out until he is called for. This procedure, with some changes, is repeated until the ahwahlo promptly goes anywhere he is sent at any time of night (331). It is not customary among

331. This demand is certainly strange, for it is only on rare occasions and for various reasons that one of these Indians decides to leave his hut at night and go a great distance.

the Yamana to frighten him in any /903/ way out-of-doors. About one thing, however, the men are implacable, and that is to rid a boy of the last remnant of cowardly fear, even if it takes a long time.

2. Exercises for Girls. There are no great differences from what I have just described for boys when the female ahwahlo in the initiation are introduced to the manual work and occupational duties that fall to their sex in the family hut. They only need training here to supplement what they learned and practiced on the occasion of their menarche (p. 567). Moreover, at home they have much more often been called upon by their mother to co-operate fully in the work, in other words, they have been more thoroughly initiated into all manual skills than is the case with boys of the same age. They now take up whatever remains for them to learn.

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One of the girl's closest women relatives who has known her for a long time and is emotively concerned about her, together with her sponsor, gives her the necessary instruction. The leader of the [illegible] celebration is satisfied to know that no girl lacks the customary practical education. He leaves to these two women the details of how they handle the girl, all the more so since actually he does not in any way interfere with matters pertaining to the female sex. This much is certain, these women are no less serious in their drill of the girls than are the men with the boys. In fact, I had the impression that they are much more petty and insistent than the men.

Actually the exercises for girls are restricted to careful and industrious assistance in the women's work of obtaining food. They get the large mussels that are buried deeper, dive down to the shallow sea-bottom and catch sea urchins, fish with the line and bring up large crabs with the crab fork, get birds' nests in the thickets and on the ground, and gather fungi and berries, all under the direction of the women accompanying them. This work, too, demands dexterity and skill which must be learned but which does not require as much exertion as the hunting exercises of the boys. Instead, the tasks of the women are generally much more annoying, if we think for example, of the protracted wading in cold water. Besides the task of gathering food, the sponsor sometimes gives her candidate the easy manual work of plaiting small baskets and ornamental chains. This, however, may only be done outside the [illegible] but when in good weather and after the food gathering they permit themselves a little rest and diversion out in the open.

All the instruction is regularly given in few words, very quietly, and, even more, with patient waiting for the result. The [illegible] obey their teachers with confidence; contradiction or disobedience would be unthinkable. A slight amount of effort by the sponsor suffices for the girls because they bring all kinds of experience and /964/ skill with them to the [illegible] hut. They help to provide food all the more efficiently and, together with the boys, make this work easier for the adults. It requires no little effort day by day and without interruption to feed a large number of participants for long weeks in the Great Hut.

X575 /1354 cont./
known, opens toward the east (p. 1219). The Yamana can give no other reason for this rule than that the custom governed the women back in the days when the Kina was still in their hands. "In this Great Hut we men stick closely to everything that was once customary among the women!" This was the answer I received when I asked for the meaning and origin of this rule (302).

302. This custom could be interpreted as an indication that the Kina celebration originated in the northern regions, as the origin myth clearly states (p. 1237).

X575 /1355/ The leader now and then makes a candidate try
•868 out the exercises for the dances and spirit appearances and work at them, and some of the young men do this on their own. They are all willing, for each one likes to appear before the others in the role of a spirit. An experienced man will give directions and probably also perform, while the men in the audience give their opinions. Such rehearsals, of course, take place inside the Great Hut; under the cover of a dark night they also take place outside near the entrance. It is only after a young man or a candidate is able to perform the dance movements perfectly and very likely that he is permitted to assume the role of a spirit in front of the women and children. Such exercises also show which man is more suitable for this or that role. Accordingly, he must then perfect himself in whichever role suits him. In this way the group of men makes sure that well-trained young people are able to portray the long list of spirits.

X575 In addition to the above-mentioned formalities pertaining
867 to the personal appearance and posture of the candidate, there is, of course, also the explanation of the meaning of the celebration, which is given at the very beginning along with the myth of its origin. Beyond that, this or that uwíala will also receive instruction and admonition in case a few of the men feel that he needs it. It is not at all rare for the old people to observe that an uwíala dismissed from the Kina is not sufficiently serious about the teachings and principles he received there. The adults carefully note evidences of weaknesses and improper behavior on

/1470 cont./

126 volume of the present work. For the time being, I wish to call attention to his shorter account, "Fuegian Songs," in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 357-367, July-September, 1936. -- At this point I need not discuss the erroneous view of someone like Speganzini (4):169 and others. Bridges (1):18 briefly mentions a few songs of the Yamana. Cf. in Cooper:90 the report on the songs that Furlong recorded on the phonograph.

533 868 522 It is amusing to learn that occasionally an older man who enjoys singing will call young people into his hut -- a few adults will join them -- in order to practice songs with them. Alkanko is known as such a person. They stay together for a few hours, learn or repeat one song after another, and conclude their jolly gathering with the so-called kuawipe, a merry performance. A clownish man will step outside and wrap himself in skins so that only his face is uncovered, upon which he draws many red and white dots. Between each corner of his mouth and a nostril, as well as between each pair of eyelids, he stretches short sticks which distort the face. This joke, a favorite among boys (p. 520), is called hanaruhuteg, and the little sticks are flexible twigs of the parasitic plant Myzodendron punctatum, appropriately called hinis tauwila, "basket of the beech," because of its shape. In this disguise the man suddenly steps into the gathering of youthful singers, acts very officiously toward each one, and joins in the general laughter. Sometimes several immature /1471/ youths will dress up in the manner described, and they all end the singing lesson with lively leaps outside the hut of their "teacher." This gay conclusion is called hanaruhuteuga (cf. Fig. 4 of the photogravure plates /at the end of the work/).

534 The Yamana do not have actual musical instruments. It is true that children take the short hollow bones of a bird or the hollow lower part of a thick quill, hold the object vertically, and place it against the lower lip, producing soft whistling tones with short puffs of air. These simple objects, called umitu, certainly 533 cannot be regarded as musical instruments. Nevertheless, the

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5385 Yahgan 5385

cast on the bow among the Ona. The use of this weapon was taught from childhood; practice in casting a headless spear, usually with an old basket as a target, was a frequently enacted sport. The basket was slung far ahead from the end of a spear; then all the young men present would cast at the target, walk up to recover their shafts, and toss the basket ahead again.

FIG. 80.—Yahgan fish-spears. Length of point of *b*, 102 in. (16,2272, 2271)

In fig. 79, drawn to scale, are shown five types of Yahgan spears, each designed for a special purpose, differing in point, shaft, and lashing. These details and certain regional variations we shall discuss at length.

1. BIRD- AND FISH-SPEAR. — This spear (*shaush-tyu*) is an all-purpose spear, but it was specifically intended for capturing fish and birds. It was commonly used in warfare. It may be briefly described as a hewn-wood shaft tipped with a serrated whale-bone head lashed in place with seal-hide or braided sinew (fig. 79, *c*, *d*).

The shaft of this spear (called *shaush-ete*) is eight-sided, as can be seen in fig. 80, having four wide and four narrow surfaces. In casting, the flat of the shaft was placed on the palm of the hand. The head of the shaft is about three-quarters of an inch in diameter; the central diameter is nearly twice as much; at the butt it tapers to a point. Red or sometimes black paint covers the completed shaft. On one side of the head-end of the shaft a slot is cut, into which the tang of the spearhead is inserted and there lashed with a seal-hide thong. This is shown in fig. 80, *b*.

The head of the fish-spear is cut from the lower jaw-bone of a whale. In the old days whales were plentiful in Beagle channel and the waters to the south, but since the establishment of whaling